DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 081 525 RC 007 232

AUTHOR Alleger, Daniel E.
TITLE Anomia and Differential Success in the Rural South.
INSTITUTION Florida Univ., Gainesville. Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY Cooperative State Research Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO SRS-AES-Bull-164
PUB DATE Aug 71
NOTE 32p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Agriculture; *Economic Disadvantagement; Migration Patterns; *Objectives; *Rural Areas; Social Opportunities; Socioeconomic Status; *Success Factors; *Values
IDENTIFIERS *South

ABSTRACT

In 1960 approximately 2,700 rural individuals, mainly husbands and wives who lived in 34 low-income counties in 8 southern states, were scaled for anomia (abject despair). In 1966, 907 families were reinterviewed by place of residence. The hypothesis assumed in this analysis was that anomia and success are inversely related. Both anomia and success were measured by scaling devices. It was found that over one-fourth of the male heads of households scored in 1966 were highly anomic; that for all families the independent variables significantly associated with anomia were level of education, complete nuclear family, number of persons perhousehold, unpaved home access road, non-ownership of home, lengthy residence in the same home, male head held 2 or more jobs between 1960 and 1966, no formal leadership role activities, and annual family income of $4,000 or less; that although many husbands and wives exhibited high anomic tendencies, these characteristics did not appear to have been paired relationships; that success attributes were generally the direct opposite of those related to anomia; and that anomia and success have an inverse correlative relationship. (PS)

ED 081525

Anomia and Differential Success
in the Rural South

by
Daniel E. Alleger

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

August 1971 Southern Regional Series Bulletin No. 164

Agricultural Experiment Stations of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, Cooperating

ED 007232

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PREFACE

Southern Regional Research Project S-61, entitled *Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South,* supported by allotments of the Regional Research Fund Hatch Act, as amended August 11, 1955, is the basic source of data for this bulletin. It is No. 164 in the series of Southern Cooperative Bulletins.

The technical committee responsible for the S-61 project consists of representatives from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, EDD-ERS (USDA), and CRS (USDA). The administrative advisor is Dr. E. V. Smith, Director, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station, Auburn, Alabama. Copies of this bulletin are identical for the several cooperating stations, but requests for the publication should be directed to the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 32601. The cooperating state directors are:

E. V. Smith, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station, Auburn, Alabama 36830.

J. W. Sites, Florida Agricultural Experiment Stations, Gainesville, Florida 32601.

W. T. Flatt, Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station, Athens, Georgia 30601.

Doyle Chambers, Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821.

J. H. Anderson, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Mississippi 39762.

J. C. Williamson, Jr., North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, North Carolina 27601.

O. B. Garrison, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Clemson, South Carolina 29631.

J. A. Ewing, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, Tennessee 37919.

H. O. Kunkel, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, College Station, Texas 77843.

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	i
INTRODUCTION	1
Anomia: Associated Attributes	1
Hypothesis	1
SOURCE OF DATA AND METHODOLOGY	2
Concepts Explored	3
Methodology	3
The Measurement of Anomia	4
Score Values	4
Index of Success	5
Success Classes	5
THE ANOMIA OF RURAL SOUTHERNERS	6
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents, 1966	6
Occurrence of Anomia	7
Occupationally Disengaged: Head Without Spouse	9
Attributes of Anomia	9
SUCCESS VS. ANOMIA	12
Success Class Differences	13
The Individual	13
Comparison of Attributes	14
Random Associations	17
Inverse Relationships	19
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	20
Summary	20
Conclusions	23
APPENDIX	25
Machine Calculation of Anomia Scores	25
Construction of Index of Success	26
Ratings	26
Weighting the Components	27
LITERATURE CITED	28
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	29

ANOMIA AND DIFFERENTIAL SUCCESS in the Rural South

Daniel E. Alleger*

INTRODUCTION

The rapid growth of the American population and the urbanization of society in this century have jointly tended to create a psychic distance between the low-income rural southerner and his more affluent city cousins. Historically, rural southerners have been deprived of the economic goods and social services commonly available to society in general, and poverty is still the lot of many (Figure 1). Several studies have shown that individuals of low economic status appear to be more prone to anomia (hopelessness and despair) than those possessing high levels of living and cultural attributes (1, 15, 16).[1]

Anomia: Associated Attributes

A decade ago, it was discovered that the individual anomia of rural southerners was directly related both to the dysjunction (malintegration) between personal goals and access to opportunity and to the loss or threatened loss of traditional ideals (6). A certain amount of confusion regarding social norms and values was an inevitable result. Also, the consonance of aims common to an agrarian society has recently been altered in the rural South by the evolutionary consequences of economic growth and social change (5, 13). The end result is that southern rural families can no longer rationalize and idealize a low-income status in life.

Hypothesis

Today, the choice of values is of prime and pressing importance to the masses, and the heavy outmigration of youth and young adults from low-income farm areas for economic betterment is widely documented. In 1960, the research findings of a project entitled S-44 indicated that many family heads who remained in economically disadvantaged rural areas of the South were anomic. These observations provide the basis for the hy-

*Daniel E. Alleger is Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

[1]See LITERATURE CITED, p. 28, for references numbered in parentheses.

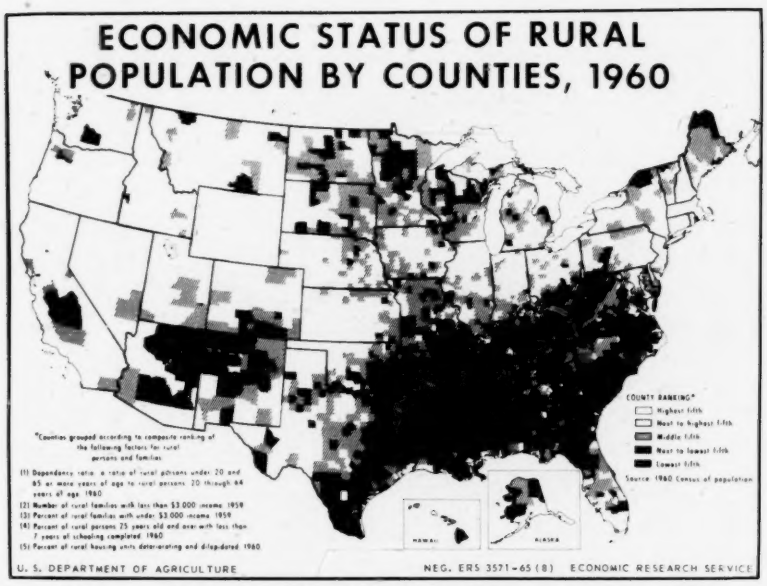
ECONOMIC STATUS OF RURAL POPULATION BY COUNTIES, 1960
COUNTY RANKING*
Highest fifth
Next to highest fifth
Middle fifth
Next to lowest fifth
Lowest fifth
Source: 1960 Census of population
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. ERS 3571-65 (8) ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

Figure 1.—Economic status of rural population by counties, 1960.

pothesis tested in this study, namely:

Anomia and success are inversely related. That is, the more successful one is in attaining his social and economic goals the less his subconscious feelings of uncertainty and despair.

SOURCE OF DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Two regional studies have contributed data on the subject of anomia and anomie in the rural South. The first, southern regional cooperative research project S-44: *Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South,* involved a survey of households in 1960-1961. At that time, approximately 2,700 individuals, mainly, husbands and wives, were rated on a scale to measure individual anomia. Area probability samples were drawn from rural areas of Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.

In 1966 a restudy was made in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee. This second phase of the regional study was entitled S-61: *Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South.*[2] Under the S-61 survey all family

[2]Complementary studies conducted in Florida in 1960 and 1966 contributed to but were not part of the regional study. The Florida findings were published separately (5, 7).

heads who were interviewed in 1960-1961 and again located in 1966 were contacted whenever feasible. This permitted an appraisal of the correlates of individual anomia at two points in time.

Concepts Explored

Two terms, anomia and anomie, are frequently used interchangeably by sociologists, but the concepts they denote are quite distinct. Another concept, success (19), was employed in the S-61 survey as a tool to study anomia in depth.

Anomia, a subjective concept, as previously measured, most likely indicates despair (15). It refers to a psychological phenomenon and relates to the attitudinal state of an individual as measured by a scale. In presenting the findings of this study, the term anomia is applied to the subjective, or psychological sphere.

Anomie, involves a view in which the norms and goals of society are no longer capable of exerting social control over its members. Stated in another way, anomie is "a sociological variable indicative of a condition of ineffectiveness of the normative structure's influence on group behavior" (11). This study makes no attempt to analyze sociological anomie.

Success, which is usually conceived of as the attainment of wealth, favor, or eminence, is highly related to both economic and prestige factors in American society.[3] It is ordered into status hierarchies everywhere in the world. Essentially, society places greater stress on those rewards which are most difficult to attain. Previous research has established that education, occupational prestige, family income and home ownership are evaluated symbols of success in the United States (16, p. 72). These are the characteristics which in this study were structured into a scale to explore individual anomia and its correlates.

A notion explored was that success is differentially attained even in the low-income rural areas of the South. Theoretically, each level of success represents a social-class position. Families on any given hierarchical level of success are thus assumed to hold a certain unity of outlook that is unique to their group.

Methodology

Various devices for scaling social data were developed under the southern regional cooperative research project S-44 (8).

[3]Success, as visualized herein, is distinguished from achievement. The rewards for achievement may be intangible but are nevertheless highly esteemed.

Among these were techniques for analyzing psychological anomia (9, 10, 12).

The Measurement of Anomia

In 1956, Leo Srole reported to the American Sociological Society on the use of a scale which he developed to measure anomia (17). The scale has been widely accepted and used by others since then. The scale consists of five statements, each of which can be so arranged as to secure either "agree," "disagree," or "no opinion" answers. In planning the S-44 and S-61 surveys, a sixth statement was added to the five used by Srole. The six statements were:

1. These days a person doesn't really know on whom he can count.
2. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
3. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
4. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
5. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
6. Things have usually gone against me in life.

The content of the scale, in the order of the statements listed, is said to measure an individual's perception or belief that his immediate personal relationships are no longer predictive and supportive, that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to his needs, that he and others like him are retrogressing from goals already reached, that the social order is essentially fickle and unpredictable, and that life itself is meaningless (15, p. 191). Agreement with the sixth statement is thought to reflect a person's views of powerlessness, a type of alienation arising when an individual expects that his behavior cannot determine the eventual or the inevitability of the outcome (16, p. 32).

Score Values

In coding the individual statements for the S-61 study, the following codes were assigned: 0, agree; 1, no opinion; 2, disagree. To assure uniformity in the scoring procedures, the anomia data were programmed for computation by mechanical

means. Individual scores ranged from 0 to 6, with 0 indicating disagreement with every statement. A score of 6 denoted an extremely anomic individual.[4]

Index of Success

In constructing an index of success the research worker is confronted with the difficulty of methodology and the ambiguity of social-class position, the second of which theoretically is associated with levels of success. An operational concept employed in this study was that the life goals and success objectives of the dominant white population fashion the success ideals for all Americans. Hence, white nuclear families, male heads in the labor force, were used to construct an index of success, and the scale was subsequently used to score all family heads in the active labor force.

The selection of four components to measure success—education and occupation of the male head, annual family income, and home ownership—was based upon (a) the relevance of the components for their intended use as determined by statistical measures, (b) the possibilities for rating their defined categories, and (c) their effectiveness for securing a weighted index to measure success. Both ratings and weights were determined for each component to secure an index value. A weighted total score, which was the index of success, was then secured. It was computed by multiplying the weights times the ratings for the four components and summing the totals. The index values of success so derived ranged from 8 to 35, or from the bottom to the top rung of success attained by the population observed.[5]

Success Classes

Success scores, or cultural-value equivalents, were determined to stratify the population. Families scaled for success numbered 389 and were ranked from low to high for analytical purposes according to the success scores obtained. The next procedure, somewhat more important than determining score values, involved the locating of critical breaking points in the array of scores to identify unique success classes. These breaking points were located where changes in attributes associated with score values were definite. The points where percentage occurrences changed drastically became the initial cutting

[4]The scoring program was devised by Victor Yellen, graduate assistant, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Florida, Gainesville. See APPENDIX, p. 25, for methodology.

[5]See APPENDIX, p. 25, for a more complete explanation.

points.[6] They produced four distinct levels of success (Table 1), as supported by tests of significance. These tests provided a high level of confidence for the methodology employed.

Table 1.—Success classes and distribution of sample by class.

Success Class (Number)	Range of Scores by Class	Success Class (Strata)	Distribution	
			Number	Per Cent
1	30-35	Upper	25	6.4
2	18-29	Upper-middle	175	45.0
3	12-17	Lower-middle	126	32.4
4	08-11	Lower	63	16.2
Totals			389[a]	100.0

[a]The number for which all pertinent data were recorded.

THE ANOMIA OF RURAL SOUTHERNERS

The first widespread scaling of the anomia of southern rural male and female heads of households was conducted in 1960 (1, 2, 8).[7] A total of 2,700 individuals—1,556 male heads and 1,144 homemakers—were then measured for anomia and were rated as mildly to severely anomic (1).

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents, 1966

Altogether, 907 families were resurveyed by places of residence in 1966, of which about 38.5% were rural farm residents. Most of the others lived in rural nonfarm homes in the open country, in hamlets and small towns. Of all the respondents, just over 68% were white, and the remainder Negro. The proportion of white families was largest in Tennessee (96.2%) and smallest in Mississippi (48.2%). Of 901 heads classified by sex,

[6]Six factors significantly and directly related to success on a zero-one 12 independent variable analysis were: (a) male head, non-farmer by occupation, (b) family owns place of residence, (c) residence located by a paved road, (d) respondent owns not less than 100 acres of land, (e) male head voted in most recent national election, and (f) respondent able to meet all necessary family needs. These items were structured into a composite value, and critical changes in percentage occurrences became success-class breaking points. Critical ratios (t values)obtained ranged from 3.15 to 6.17, except for class 2 vs. class 1 for which the value was 1.33. This indicates a 10% possibility that the placement of an individual in either the upper-middle or upper class may have been due to chance.

[7]Henceforth, 1960 will be used to designate the 1960-61 S-44 survey.

78.4% were headed by males and 21.6% by females. Most of the latter were widows. Approximately two-thirds of both the male and female respondents were over 50 years of age, and three-fourths of them had not changed their places of residence between 1960 and 1966. About half reported they lived along paved roads, with the notable exception of those in Mississippi where 83.4% reported that access roads to their homes were unpaved.

Occurrence of Anomia

Anomic tendencies of the respondents were relatively high in all the counties surveyed in 1966, as in 1960. When the 1966 data were refined and limited to 518 husband-wife households, the 1960 and 1966 percentage distributions of the anomia scores of the male heads indicated that relatively high proportions of them were anomic at both periods (Table 2). A graphic exhibit of the percentage distributions of the 1966 anomia scores of male family heads and homemakers strongly indicates that many of them were anomic when interviewed (Figure 2).

Table 2.—Percentage distributions of anomia scores reported by male heads of nuclear families who were scaled for anomia both in 1960 and 1966.

Score Values	Generalized Attitudes	Distribution by Scores by Year of Survey	
		1960	1966
		Per Cent	
6	Anomic	18.5	25.1
4-5	Pessimistic-insecure	38.8	39.6
3	Uncommitted attitude	17.4	5.6
1-2	Social system acceptable	22.8	19.7
0	Well-balanced	2.5	10.0
Total: Per Cent		100.0	100.0
Number		1,556[a]	518[b]

[a]Scores by summated ratings, Rensis Likert (14).

[b]Least-error method of scoring, p. 25.

Note: The reader is cautioned against making direct and unqualified comparisons between the percentage distributions derived by two methods of scoring at two points in time, even though both methods of measurement have won professional approval. Both Likert and Guttman-type techniques (a and b, above) measure intensity of attitude. In brief, the strength or intensity of an attitude is represented by the extremity it occupies on a continuum and it becomes stronger, either positively or negatively, outward from a neutral position. A tacit assumption inherent in these data is that the distribution of the anomia scores from the above two tests both measure extreme degrees of attitude, but raw data for 1960 were not available in 1966 to statistically prove this supposition.

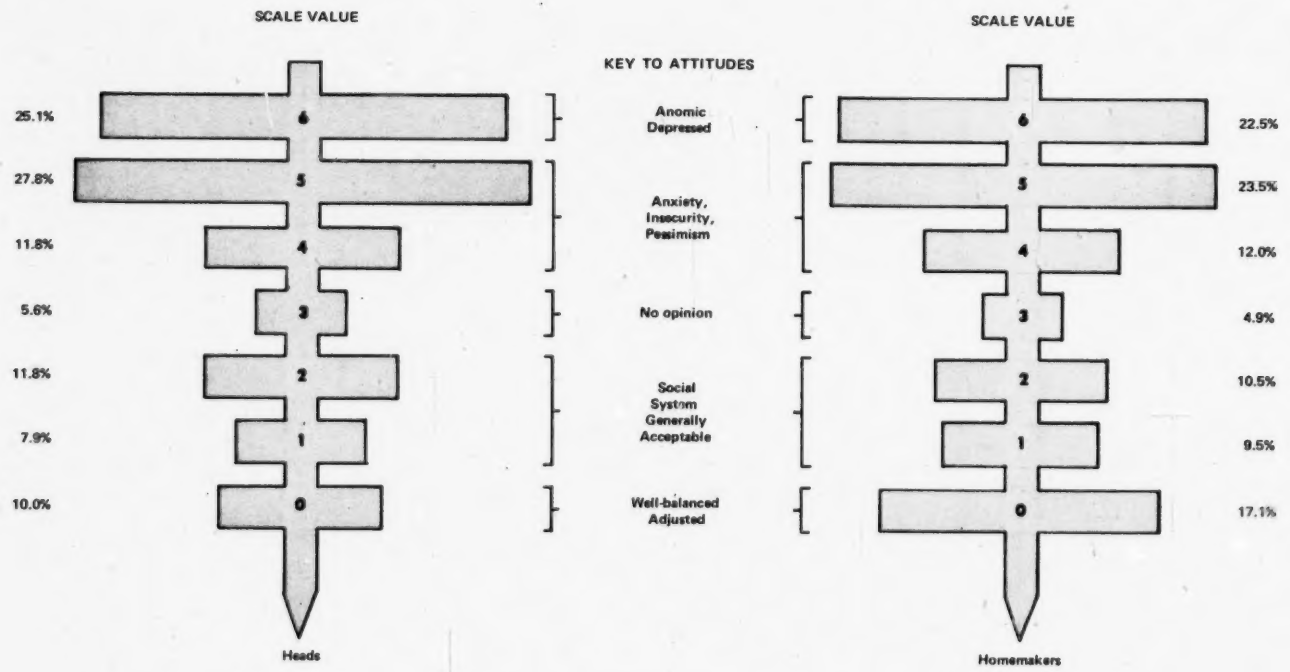

Figure 2.—Percentage distributions of anomia scores obtained in scaling 518 male heads and 518 homemakers in selected areas of the rural South in 1966. Percentages are shown on both sides of zero-base points to secure spindle-type silhouettes.

The 1966 anomia study was premised on the belief that differential access to success produces individual anomia, as does the loss or threatened loss of traditional ideals and goals already achieved. What became apparent from the analyses was that anomia is also directly related to social stratification (Table 3).

Irrespective of race, the more successful families reported the existing social system as generally acceptable; the least successful viewed it with pessimism, insecurity, and anxiety. The evidence suggests that removal from the labor force, whatever the cause, increases individual anomia. It also appears that males without a spouse are more anomic than females similarly situated.

Occupationally Disengaged: Head Without Spouse

More than a third (38.4%) of 864 male respondents who were interviewed in 1960 and again in 1966 were largely removed from the labor force in 1966. Of 332 so reporting, 62% were retired, and 38% were disabled rather than retired, of whom 1 in 3 was totally disabled.

The percentage distributions of 122 male and 126 female respondents of retirement or non-nuclear families who were scaled for anomia in both 1960 and 1966 are shown according to score values, in Table 4. In general, the males tended to be anomic, with 77.1% of their scores ranging from 4 to 6. White homemakers, especially the wives of the retired and the disabled, were less anomic than their mates, but the high scores reported by Negroes was typical of both sexes. Since this study is not directed specifically toward the occupationally disengaged and heads of incomplete households, all analyses of 1966 data subsequent to Tables 3 and 4 relate to the 389 household heads in the labor force who were scaled both for anomia and success.

Attributes of Anomia

Anomia is a characteristic of contemporary American society. It appears to be very closely associated with rapid changes in both the social and economic systems. Secularism, which pervades modern life, gives rise to a great increase in the complexity of decision-making because technical knowledge and intellectual skills which are its counterparts require a massive change in the way men live together. Both economists and sociologists are now concerned about the dysjunction between ends and means in man's pursuit for success. One approach, as undertaken in this study, was to isolate factors which either cause anomia or are closely associated with it.

Table 3.—Selected characteristics of heads and homemakers of 542 rural southern families, 1966, included in the analysis of anomia.

Category	Distribution of Households		Anomia (Ave.)		Average Years of Age		1966 Family Income
	No.	%	Male	Female	Male	Female	($)
Success classes:	389	100.0	3.6	3.4	50.1	45.7	3,755
Upper	25	6.4	1.8	1.9	41.8	39.8	5,640
Upper-middle	175	45.0	3.3	3.0	48.5	44.1	5,240
Lower-middle	126	32.4	3.9	3.9	53.7	49.5	2,645
Lower	63	16.2	4.5	4.0	50.8	44.8	1,245
Not in labor force:[a]	95	100.0	4.1	3.7	69.8	61.6	2,105
White nuclear family	72	75.8	4.0	3.5	71.1	63.4	2,180
Negro nuclear family	23	24.2	4.3	4.3	67.9	59.0	1,875
Incomplete nuclear family:[b]	58	100.0	4.4	3.8	67.9	63.2	1,520
Male, no spouse	27	46.6	4.4	–	67.9	–	1,460
Female, no spouse	31	53.4	–	3.8	–	63.2	1,575
Totals or average[c]	542	100.0	3.7	3.5	54.4	50.0	3,195

[a]Retirees, disabled, or otherwise permanently removed from the labor force.

[b]Composed mostly of widowed heads of both races, some of whom were gainfully employed, and others received pensions, Social Security, or Old Age Assistance.

[c]Total numbers of respondents may differ from table to table because on some records pertinent values, such as age, education, etc., were missing.

Table 4.—Percentage distribution of scores obtained in the measurement of anomia of male heads and homemakers of complete nuclear families (male heads not in the active labor force) and of incomplete nuclear households (no spouse living).

Scores	Generalized Attitudes	Families Not in Active Labor Force				One Head: No Spouse[a]		All Respondents	
		Male Heads		Homemakers					
		White	Negro	White	Negro	Male	Female	Male	Female
6	Depressed, anomic	22.2	30.4	16.7	34.8	29.6	29.0	25.6	23.0
5	Pessimism, anxiety, insecurity	39.0	39.2	33.3	21.7	33.4	29.0	37.7	30.2
4		13.9	13.1	9.7	21.7	14.8	6.5	13.8	11.1
3	Uncommited attitude	6.9	–	5.6	–	3.7	3.2	4.9	4.0
2	Social system generally acceptable	6.9	4.3	11.1	8.7	14.8	9.7	8.2	10.3
1		4.2	8.7	8.3	13.1	3.7	6.5	4.9	8.7
0	Well-balanced, adjusted	6.9	4.3	15.3	–	–	16.1	4.9	12.7
Totals:	Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	72	23	72	23	27	31	122	126

[a]Both white and Negro families.

Analysis of 1966 resurvey data tend to support S-44 research observations secured in 1960 (2). The 1966 data also indicate that specific factors related to anomia differ by race (Table 5). For example, white heads of families who reported better than average levels of education were less anomic than others, but for the Negro males this relationship was not significant. An atypical circumstance is that education of Negro homemakers tends to be related to lower anomia for their husbands. Earlier research had revealed that white males and Negro homemakers exercised economic dominance in their respective family relationships (3). However, caution in interpretation is warranted, because these findings relate almost exclusively to low-income rural Negro families.

Table 5.—Regression coefficients of independent variables significantly associated with anomia of male family heads; all males in the active labor force.

Item	Independent Variable	Coefficients by Race		
		White	Negro	Both
1	Education of male head[a]	−0.1810*	−0.0791	−0.1533*
2	Education of homemaker[a]	−0.0622	0.1181**	0.0395
3	Complete nuclear family	0.3633	−0.7394	0.5713*
4	Number of persons in household[a]	0.0165	0.1731*	0.0918*
5	Access road to home, unpaved	0.4501*	0.3912	0.4843*
6	Rents home, or free use thereof	−0.0960	1.1550*	0.5749*
7	Length of residence, under 4 years	−0.5341	−0.7174	−0.5417*
8	Occupation, farmer	0.5619*	−0.2808	0.2159
9	Considered changing jobs, 1960-66	0.0003	−1.0478**	−0.1906
10	Held two or more jobs, 1960-66	0.5272**	−0.5801	0.4769**
11	Holds no formal leadership role	0.5320*	0.7023	0.3774**
12	Family income, 1966, $4,000 or less	0.1077	0.8791**	0.3442**
Constant		5.0159	2.8653	2.9181
R^2		0.31	0.32	0.23
Number of families		290	99	389

[a]Continuous variables; all others are zero-one, or dummy, variables. The regression model contained 25 independent variables considered as possible correlates of anomia, but 13 yielded low levels of significance and are not exhibited above.

*Odds are 5 in 100 that the results are due to chance and ** less than 10 in 100 are due to chance. Coefficients not marked are not significant at acceptable levels.

SUCCESS VS. ANOMIA

Expectations for success are largely determined by the nature of the normative system into which one is born and reared. Until recently, low-income rural southerners, handicapped by

limited natural and capital resources, were content to attain modest goals (4). Their conception of occupational expectations was severely restricted by the images of work and occupations commonly known and available to them; yet these images were more rural than regional.

Success Class Differences

The term "success class," as used in this study, is essentially synonymous with social stratification. Success classes are no more than evaluated symbols which are measurable economic and prestige factors highly related to social status. By measuring the symbols, we measure the conception of success values. Apparently the upper class, as observed in this study, is composed largely of entries from the upper-middle class, because the placement of an individual in either of the two classes is partly due to chance (See footnote 6). Yet this study indicated that both classes 1 and 4, the upper and lower classes, were each within its class measurably homogeneous.[8]

The Individual

Because of lack of effective communication, our society tends to negate effective aspiring and the choosing of those occupations that are consistent with individual interests and abilities (18). In southern rural areas an individual's freedom to choose is reduced because of lack of knowledge of the multiplicity of opportunities available in the nation. The restriction that lack of knowledge of vocational opportunities places on the quest for formal education is largely undetermined. Yet, the S-61 study clearly demonstrates that education is one key to success, even in low-income rural areas (Table 6).

As success is structured in this study, seven factors were highly related to it, of which three may be conditioning components. They were the education of the male family, his choice of a nonfarm vocation, and his earning ability (Table 6). Associated relationships were the ownership of place of residence, living along a paved road, the head's exercise of his right to vote, and the homemaker's relatively high self-rating of family social status in relation to her community associations. As a result of trial analytical runs, these seven independent vari-

[8]Regression analyses of classes 1 and 4 were not possible because of the homogeneity of the attributes within each class. This resulted somewhat from limited degrees of freedom, the narrow range in values of some attributes, and the perfect correlation of certain variables in the matrix.

Table 6.—Independent attributes significantly related to success in regression analysis, 290 white and 99 Negro families.

Item	Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Estimated t value
1	Education of male head[a]	0.7563	9.32
2	Nonfarmer by occupation	3.9118	7.70
3	Family income[a]	0.8600	6.82
4	Family owns place of residence	1.5899	3.12
5	Paved access road to home	1.2153	2.79
6	Voted in year of survey, 1966	1.6401	2.16
7	High (6 to 10) self-rating of family, 1966	0.9858	1.92

[a]Continuous variables; all others are zero-one or dummy variables. The model contained 21 independent variables, of which only the above are significant at the 0.10 level or higher.

The variables included in the analysis but not in this report yielded t values which ranged from 0.10 to 0.97.

ables, plus 14 others thought to be associated with individual success, were placed in a linear regression model. This appeared to minimize the effect of random factors and a relatively large part of the variation in measured success (65%) was associated with the independent variables included.

Comparison of Attributes

Theoretically, an individual has a choice in decision regarding his activities, his occupational pursuit, and his environment. This freedom to choose opens the possibilities for increased opportunities in the struggle for success, whatever the restrictions imposed by birth, social class, and region.

An exhibit of the distribution of male heads according to grades of school completed reveals that 96% of those in success class 1 reported the completion of 9 grades or more, while none of those in success class 4 ever attended high school (Table 7). A wide range of education was reported by individuals in success classes 2 and 3, but high school graduation or above was more typical of members of class 2 than of class 3. In general, success steadily increased in a direct ratio with education (Figure 3).[9]

Male heads in class 1 in this study were predominately managers, proprietors, professional, and technical workers (Table 8). The poorly educated who fell largely, but not exclusively,

[9]Figures 3, 4 and 5 were plotted output from the Biomedical Computer Program, BMD05R, polynomial regression, version of June 10, 1956, Health Sciences Computing Facility, UCLA.

Table 7.—Percentage distribution of male heads according to attained formal education by success classes.

Education of Male head: Grades Completed		Success Classes				
		1	2	3	4	All
				Per Cent		
	None	–	0.6	5.8	7.7	3.3
	1-3	–	3.5	12.4	25.0	9.3
	4	–	7.8	11.6	19.2	10.1
	5-7	–	17.4	33.0	44.2	25.2
	8	4.0	24.6	19.0	3.9	18.4
	9-11	36.0	24.0	13.2	–	17.8
	12	48.0	15.6	2.5	–	11.2
	13-15	4.0	3.5	1.7	–	2.5
	16 or more	8.0	3.0	0.8	–	2.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average:	Male head	11.5	8.4	6.3	4.4	7.3
	Number	25	175	126	63	389

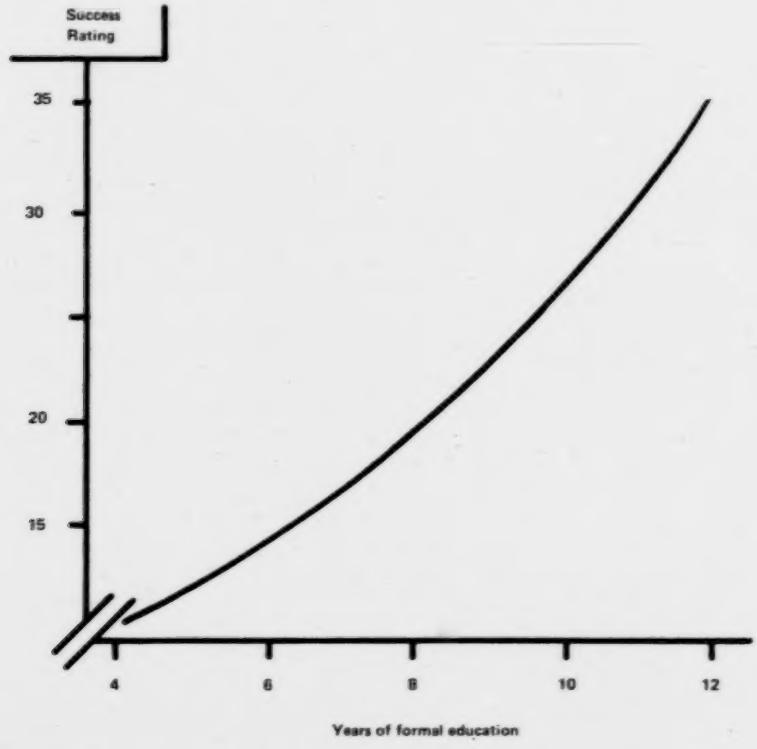

Figure 3.—Depiction of the curvilinear relationship between success and education in selected low-income rural counties of the South.

Table 8.—Percentage distribution of male family heads according to primary occupational classification and success class.

Occupational Classification	Success Class 1	2	3	4	All
			Per Cent		
Farmer	4.2	19.2	62.9	13.1	31.4
Farm foreman or laborer	–	1.7	9.7	55.7	12.9
Managers and proprietors	75.0	5.2	–	–	7.1
Professional and technical workers	8.3	0.6	–	–	0.8
Sales and Clerical	8.3	5.8	–	–	3.1
Craftsmen or foremen	4.2	37.8	0.8	–	17.6
Semi-skilled operatives	–	25.6	14.5	–	16.3
Unskilled laborers	–	4.1	12.1	31.2	10.8
Total: Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	25	175	126	63	389

in class 4 were generally laborers. Class 2 included a sizable proportion (63.4%) of blue collar workers (foremen, craftsmen, and semi-skilled operators), while in class 3 farmers were most numerous (62.9%). The rate of employment of wives was considerably related to success class. Approximately 60% of the homemakers in class 1 were gainfully employed as compared to 39% in class 2, 39% in class 4 and 27% in class 3, but larger proportions of class 3 were farm families.

Table 9.—The distribution of families according to reported 1966 family income and success class.

Family Income Classes	Success Class 1	2	3	4	All
Dollars			Per Cent		
Up to $ 999	–	5.0	14.0	36.7	12.9
1,000 – 1,999	–	7.5	27.2	48.2	20.2
2,000 – 2,999	–	9.9	21.0	11.7	13.2
3,000 – 3,999	23.8	14.9	21.0	1.7	15.2
4,000 – 4,999	14.3	17.3	4.4	1.7	10.4
5,000 – 5,999	23.8	16.7	5.3	–	10.7
6,000 – 6,999	9.5	8.9	3.5	–	5.6
7,000 – 7,999	9.5	6.8	0.9	–	3.9
8,000 – 8,999	4.8	3.1	0.9	–	2.0
9,000 and over	14.3	9.9	1.8	–	5.9
Totals: Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average	$5,640	5,240	2,645	1,245	2,105
Number	25	175	126	63	389

This study gives evidence that those in the laboring classes, particularly in success classes 3 and 4, remain relatively unmoved and cling to security. Approximately 92% of the male heads in each of these two classes had not changed employment between 1960 and 1966, whereas nearly 24% in class 1 and 17% in class 2 did so. Farm people were generally relatively stable owner-operators, except for those in class 4 where tenantry was common.

General dissatisfaction with incomes (54%) was noted only for class 3, the prevailing farm family class. The positive relationship of family income to success was apparent both by the distribution of incomes in Table 9, and from the curvilinear effects of income with success (Figure 4). Another indication of success was noted by the family ownership of their places of residence, or 92.0%, 84.8%, 71.4%, and 23.3%, respectively, for classes 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Random Associations

The accident of birth which places an individual in a minority racial class does not, in itself, mitigate one's efforts to succeed. Restricted economic opportunity is often the consequence of chronic poverty, irrespective of race, which makes the distance to success far greater than from the middle or upper social classes. Actually a small percentage of Negroes (4.0%) had attained a class 1 success rating, and others were in the middle classes (7.1% in class 2 and 31.2% in class 3). Although some Negroes are vertically mobile, many tend to remain in poverty (61.0% of class 4 were Negroes).

Social participation of family heads was not significantly related to success as measured by this study, but 30% of the male heads in classes 1 and 2 assumed some type of leadership role as compared to 20% in class 3 and 12% in class 4. In the exercise of the right to vote, members of class 1 were the most active participants as 71.4% had participated in state or national elections during the year of the resurvey, as compared to 35.2% in class 4, and approximately 53.5% in classes 2 and 3.

Other findings are informative, even though not measured statistically. For example, homemakers in success classes 1, 2 and 3 centered their expressed hopes for the future upon the continued good health of members of their families and the educating of their children. Homemakers in class 4 wished primarily for a better home and modern household items, and secondarily for good health and education.

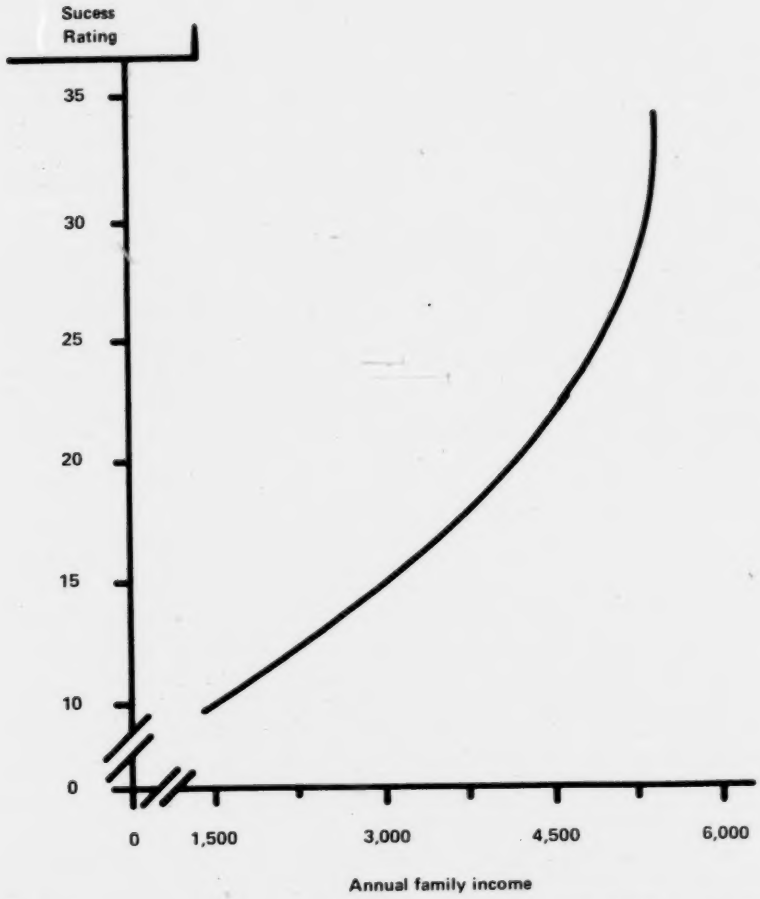

Figure 4.—Annual family incomes, as reported for S-61 families, are projected to reach moderate levels for the more successful.

When queried about their fears and worries about the future, homemakers in classes 1 and 2 were apprehensive about illness or poor health of members of their families followed by dread of war or drafting of kin. In class 3, homemakers not only expressed concern about physical ailments, but also about employment and loss of income. Homemakers in class 4 were principally concerned about underemployment, or lack of employment and income. To them, worry about ill health was less an issue than unexpressed fears, yet they were far more anomic than those in the more successful families (Table 3).

Inverse Relationships

Substantial proportions of male heads and homemakers both in 1960 and 1966 were rated from pessimistic to anomic (Table 2).

In 1966, the average anomia score of homemakers was merely 5.4% lower than that of the male heads (Table 3), yet the correlation of scores between the two was quite low (Table 10). Apparently, husbands and wives within given families were not equally optimistic or depressed, except perhaps for selected categories.

The relatively high correlation between white farmers and their wives ($r = +.55$) probably arises from their sharing of common economic and social interests. With one exception, the correlation coefficients obtained between anomia and success were negative (Table 11).

A full explanation of moderately low correlation coefficients between anomia and success was not revealed by the data. This may result in part from the measurements used because all factors bearing upon the anomia and success of rural people are not readily measurable. Nevertheless, when the relationship between anomia and success is viewed graphically, the propensity to be anomic by those who are unsuccessful is readily apparent (Figure 5).

Collectively, the results support the hypothesis that anomia and success among low-income rural people are inversely related,

Table 10.—Correlation between anomia scores of male family heads and homemakers, by family classification, 1966.

Classification	Number	Correlation Coefficients
All	389	.25[a]
Occupational:		
White farm	112	.55
Negro farm	54	.39
White nonfarm	188	.45
Negro nonfarm	35	.25[b]
Success Level:		
Upper	25	.29[b]
Upper-middle	175	.39
Lower-middle	126	.49
Lower	63	.39

[a]An r of +.29 was obtained from 1960 data.

[b]The correlation coefficients were not significantly different from zero at the .05 level. All other correlation coefficients were significantly different from zero at the .01 level.

Table 11.—Coefficients derived from correlation between anomia and family success, for both male heads and homemakers according to occupational classification of male heads.

Occupational Classification of Male Heads	Respondents		Correlation Coefficients Anomia vs. Success	
	Number	Per Cent	Male Heads	Homemakers
All	389	100.0	−.35	**−.29**
White farm	112	28.8	−.37	−.47
Negro farm	54	13.9	−.07[a]	+.10[a]
White nonfarm	188	48.3	−.37	−.37
Negro nonfarm	35	9.0	−.13[a]	−.21[a]

[a]Not statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

although the correlation coefficients obtained were smaller in the upper than in the lower classes (Table 12).

Table 12.—Coefficients derived from correlation between anomia of male heads and success, according to success levels.

Success Levels	Respondents		Correlation Coefficients
	Number	Per Cent	
All	389	100.0	−.35
Upper	25	6.4	−.12[a]
Upper-middle	175	45.0	−.22
Lower-middle	126	32.4	−.28
Lower	63	16.2	−.27

[a]Not statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

1. In 1960, under the auspices of the Southern Regional Cooperative Project S-44, approximately 2,700 rural individuals, mainly husbands and wives who lived in 34 low-income counties in eight states of the South, were scaled for anomia (abject despair). Various analyses indicated that more than half of these respondents were either anomic, discouraged, or uncertain of the dependability of their social surroundings.

2. In 1966, 907 families were reinterviewed by places of residence. Since data were incomplete on some schedules they were discarded, but anomia scores for 542 family heads were computed. Husband-wife household units, males in the active labor force, numbered 389. All success-class analyses, and the conclusions derived therefrom, were restricted to these 389 units. For background information, however, anomia scores were also

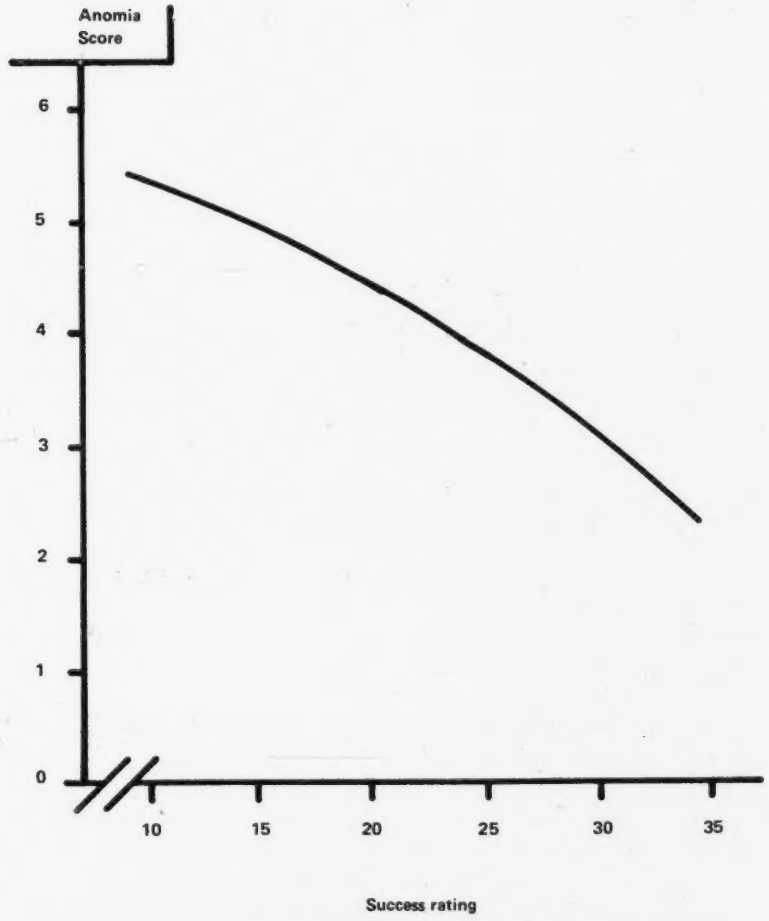

Figure 5.—Graphic exhibit showing the inverse relationship between anomia and success. The most successful respondents (higher success ratings) are projected to be mentally and environmentally adjusted (lower anomia scores), and conversely for the least successful.

calculated for 95 male heads removed from the active labor force and their wives, and for 27 male and 31 female heads of incomplete nuclear families.

3. The hypothesis assumed in this analysis was that anomia and success are inversely related, i.e., anomic tendencies decrease as success increases. Briefly, the concepts employed were: (a) anomia is a socio-psychological variable directly related to the dysjunction (malintegration) between personal goals and

access to opportunity; (b) success denotes those economic and status hierarchy rewards which are most difficult to attain.

4. Both anomia and success were measured by scaling devises. The anomia scale consisted of six statements which permitted "agree," "disagree," and "no opinion" responses. Answers were scored by Guttman-type scaling techniques for weighting responses to the scale. The range in scale values extended from 0 to 6, or from a well-balanced frame of mind to despair. Success was measured by index values based upon ratings and weights of four components related to success, namely, the education and occupation of the male head, family income and home ownership. These values (summated ratings) ranged from 8 to 35, or from extreme low levels to high levels of success.

5. Over a fourth of the male heads scored for anomia in 1966 were highly anomic. The average anomia scores for both husbands and wives in the lowest success class were double those of the upper class, or 4.5 to 1.8 for males, and 4.0 to 1.9 for females. In general, Negro respondents were more prone to anomia than white respondents, and family heads without a spouse were more anomic than the general average.

6. For all families, irrespective of race, the independent variables significantly (at the 0.10 level) associated with anomia were level of education, complete nuclear family, number of persons per household, unpaved access road to home, non-ownership of home, lengthy residence (4 years and over) in the same home, male head held two or more jobs between 1960 and 1966, no formal leadership role activities, and annual family income of $4,000 or less. When observed by race, the correlates of anomia were not the same for white persons as for Negroes. To cite one example, the occupation of farmer appeared to be depressive to white male family heads, but not to Negro males.

7. Although many husbands and wives included in the success class analyses exhibited high anomic tendencies, these characteristics did not appear to have been paired relationships ($r = .25$). The greatest conformity in anomic attitudes between spouses appeared in farm families where $r = .55$ for white couples, and $r = .39$ for Negro couples. In non-farm families correlations between paired householders were lower, or .45 for white respondents and .25 for Negro respondents.

8. Success attributes were generally the direct opposite of those related to anomia. The significant factors were the positive advantage of education, nonfarmer by occupation, higher than a $4,000 annual income, ownership of place of residence, paved access road to home, propensity to vote in state and/or national elections, and relatively high self-rating of family status by homemaker. In class 1—the upper success class—75% of the family heads were managers and proprietors, while in class 4—the lower class—nearly 87% were in laboring categories. Blue collar workers were most numerous in class 2, and farmers in class 3.

9. Anomia and success were shown to have an inverse correlative relationship, although low, thus confirming the main hypothesis of this study. The correlations between anomia and success were –.35 for all male heads and –.29 for all homemakers. The inverse correlations were greater for white male heads than for Negro males, or –.37 for both white farm and nonfarm respondents, and –.07 for Negro farmers and –.13 for Negro nonfarmers.

Conclusions

The delineation of four success levels in this study provided evidence of distinct social stratification in southern low-income rural areas, but a situation in which relative success is attained by only a select few. The scaling of success proved to be both feasible and utilitarian. However, since social participation, social reputation, and socioeconomic status vary between low-income and other areas, it is unlikely that this or another scale designed to measure success can be universally applied. The basic conclusion derived was that the special ingredient necessary for success and lessening of anomia is education. The inverse relationships between anomia and education, income, and success, all point to lack of education as the primary source of anomia among gainfully employed workers, especially among members of success classes 3 and 4.

In the rural South a high degree of despair and uncertainty appears to have resulted from the general aging of the population and decreased advantages for those in farming, so much so that goal-striving has generally become almost non-agriculturally oriented. Other research and census reports indicate that beginning some years prior to this study, and continuing until the present, the number of farms in the South steadily decreased, farms increased in size, animal work power was re-

placed largely by tractors, rural residential nonfarming became common, and young people quit the countryside. Beyond the economic dislocation which these changes entailed, the individuals affected were forced to make adjustments in every sphere of life.

As the subjective value of material things in the world increases, the human world diminishes. This produces a strain on the low-income rural social system, and the effects of this strain fall most heavily on the lower-success classes from which advance to success is severely restricted. When individuals are confronted with the reality of disadvantage, substantial numbers of them become exposed to shocks, rebuffs, and frequent feelings of painful anxiety and the futility of goal-striving. Although the correlates of anomia are less clear for the upper two classes than for the lower two classes, they are probably closely allied to the dysjunction between goals and access to success. As a result of this study, it is suggested that future research regarding anomia (anomie) in the rural areas might concentrate on the relationship between social stratification and anomia. An understanding of the sources and consequences of anomia may provide the key of understanding for the eradication of rural poverty in the southern states.

APPENDIX

Machine Calculation of Anomia Scores

The anomia scale (pp. 4, 5) used in this study contained six statements. They are listed below in abbreviated form in the order of the decreasing frequency of "agree" responses as obtained in the SRS-44 project.

1.	These days a person doesn't really know on whom he can count	77.47
2.	There's little use writing to public officials	55.88
3.	The lot of the average man is getting worse	50.51
4.	A person has to live pretty much for today	47.19
5.	It's hardly fair to bring children into the world	38.85
6.	Things have usually gone against me in life	27.43

The six statements, in the order listed above, provided rank-order values of 1 to 6, inclusive. Complete disagreement with all the above statements, yielded a value (score) of "0." All responses were coded for scoring by computer. In brief the procedure was as follows:

1. Codes for all items were placed on IBM cards, i.e., 0, 1 or 2 for each item in the scale. An individual's responses thus appeared as 000000, 011210, 011220, etc., with a rank order of 1 to 6, inclusive.
2. The highest "0" value was designated n, ranging from 1 to 6, inclusive.
3. The number of non-zero values between 1 and n-1 was determined, which was called "m."
4. If m was equal to zero, the score was the value of n. Thus, 000000 was given a value of 6. If m was not equal to zero, the score was n/m, as governed by item 5.
5. If the ratio of n/m was less than 2, the zero value next highest to n became the score. If the ratio of n/m was equal to or greater than 2, and n was greater than 3, it was then determined if both of the two previous levels were non-zeros. If so, n/m designated the score. If the two previous levels consisted of a 0 and a numeral (1 or 2) or two zeroes, the score was the value of n (Item 2).

Construction of Index of Success

The construction of the index of success, after the four components of success had been selected (see p. 5), involved the determination of ratings for all strata of each component and the assignment of weights to the components.

Ratings

To compute the statistical significance of education, family income and home ownership, the rated possession of all levels of living items, which ranged in value from 0 to 9, were arrayed from high to low. The responses from the upper and lower 27% of the array were then used to calculate critical ratios, which are "t" values. Subsequently, positive ratings were assigned to each category of a component by the sigma method, as read from a table of values of the normal probability integral. By this procedure, home tenure yielded a value of 3 for home ownership, 2 for cash renting, and 1 for all other home tenure arrangements (Appendix Table 1).

To rate the occupation of the male family heads the assumed prestige position of the primary occupation, as based on previous research, was the determining factor (19, p. 123). When sub-

Appendix Table 1.—Ratings for the components of success, 389 southern rural households.

Item	Rating
Education, white male head:	
12 years up	4
9 to 11 years	3
8 years	2
0 to 7 years	1
Family income:	
$5,001 and over	3
3,001 to 5,000	2
Up to 3,000	1
Home tenure:[a]	
Owner	3
Cash renter	2
All other	1
Occuption, white male head:	
Professional, managerial, technical	6
Sales and clerical	5
Skilled	4
Semi-skilled	3
Farmer	2
Laborer	1

[a]No refinement as to size or state of repair.

jected to regression analysis, farming yielded a low hierarchical position as related to other occupations, as its prestige position was regarded as near minimal. However, farm occupational data were not refined by size of farm, scale of operations, or agricultural occupations of the respondent.

Weighting the Components

Weights for each component of success were determined by the zero-one method of regression analysis. The final of several equations consisted of the dependent variable, level of living scores, and 14 independent variables, all of which appeared to have some application to success. The weights derived were 2, education of male head; 2, family income; 1, home tenure; 3, occupation of male head (Appendix Table 2).

For each observation, weights were multiplied by the ratings to secure a numerical product. The sums of the products became the index of success. Table 14 exhibits this index as determined for one individual household.

Appendix Table 2.—Calculation of index of success.

Component	Weight of Component[a]	Rating	Product
Education, male head	2	2	4
Family income	2	2	4
Home tenure	1	3	3
Occupation, male head	3	4	12
Weighted total (index of success)			23

[a]Weights remained constant, since all pertinent data on schedules were complete.

After the methodology for determining success class equivalents had been established, it was used to predict probable success levels for all nuclear families, both white and Negro, subject to the limitation that the male heads should be in the active labor force. Altogether 290 white and 99 Negro families were so scored. Score values ranged from 8 to 35, or from the bottom to the top rung on the ladder of success as derived for this study.

LITERATURE CITED

1. Alleger, Daniel E.: "The Anomia of Rural People: Its Measurement and Correlates," *Agricultural Science Review* (CRS, USDA, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1966), pp. 1-9.

2. Alleger, Daniel E., and Max R. Langham: *Anomie in Low-Income Areas of the South* (mimeographed), Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Florida, April 1965.

3. Alleger, Daniel E.: "Medical Care Costs of White and Negro Householders in Selected Rural Areas of the South," 1969 Summer Issue, *Sociological Focus*, p. 121.

4. Alleger, Daniel E.: *Continuum of Purpose Among Low-Income Farmers* (mimeographed), paper read at the annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Jackson, Mississippi, February 1961.

5. Alleger, Daniel E.: "Progress Outruns Agrarianism," *Sunshine State Agricultural Research Report*, (Vol. 15, No. 1, January 1970), pp. 4-8.

6. Boyd, Virlyn A., and Carolyn A. Morgan: *Synthesis of Findings from* Southern Regional Cooperative Research Project S-44: *Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South*, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin AE 290, 1966, pp. 4-9, 29-35.

7. Clark, Juan M.: *Social Patterns of Rural Family Income* (thesis), Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Florida, August, 1969.

8. Cleland, Charles L.: *Scaling Social Data*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin 108, 1965.

9. Guttman, Louis: "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement* (Vol. 7, Summer 1947), pp. 247-280.

10. Hagood, Margaret Jarmon, and Daniel O. Price: *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1960), pp. 143-155.

11. Hammonds, Andre D.: *Socio-Economic Status and Anomia: An Interpretation and Specification of the Relationship* (Ph.D. dissertation, mimeographed copy), University of Tennessee, 1963, p. 21.

12. Harris, Mary Jordan: *Review of Methods of Scale and Item Analysis and their Application to a Level of Living Scale in North Carolina*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Progress Report RS 13, 1951, p. 17.

13. Hocking, William Ernest: "A Philosophy of Life for the American Farmer (and others)," in *Farmers in a Changing World* (1940 USDA YB AGR), Washington, pp. 1066-1068. See also pages 1024-1029 (Turner).

14. Likert, Rensis: *A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes*, (New York: Archives of Psychology, No. 140, 1932).

15. Meier, Dorothy L., and Wendell Bell: "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," *American Sociological Review* (Vol. 24, No. 2, April 1959), pp. 198-199.

16. Mizruchi, Ephraim Harold: *Success and Opportunity: A Study of Anomie* (London: Collier-McMillan, Ltd., 1964).

17. Srole, Leo: "Social Interaction and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," *American Sociological Review* (Vol. 21, No. 6, December 1956), pp. 709-716.

18. Taylor, Lee: *Occupational Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 189.

19. Warner, W. Lloyd, and others: *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), pp. 122-185.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This publication is one of many authored or supervised by technical committee members of the S-61 Regional Project, *Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South.* Grateful appreciation is hereby extended to all project participants for their suggestions and manuscript reviews; to my colleagues of the University of Florida for evaluations of the submission of research findings; to Dr. L. H. Myers, Judy Weiner, and Victor Yellen, assistant professor, computer programmer, and graduate assistant, respectively, of the Department of Agricultural Economics, for programming assistance and interpretations of statistical results; and finally, to the field workers and respondents, all of whom contributed substantially to the success of this study.